1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 generations, was able to work out the laws which had regulated these marriages and to study in detail the system of kinship.

124 On going to the Todas, one of my first objects was to discover if their pedigrees were preserved with the same completeness and fidelity as among the Papuans of Torres Straits.

173 601 551 784 It seemed at first as if I was to be disappointed. Those to whom I first broached the subject professed not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. Some said they had forgotten them, but their demeanour excited the suspicion that reticence, and not ignorance, was the cause of the failure, and it soon became clear that this suspicion was correct.

There was a taboo on the names of the dead, and especially on those of dead ancestors. No Toda liked to speak of the dead by name, but to utter the name of a dead elder relative was strictly forbidden, and to the end of my visit I never heard the name of a dead man from one of his descendants. Thus the last piece of genealogical information which I collected was that of the names of the father and mother of Kòdrner, my constant attendant. The fact that he was always with me had prevented my inquiries into his parentage.

Having discovered the cause of failure it soon became evident that the Todas preserved their pedigrees almost, if not quite, as fully as the natives of Torres Straits. As in the islands, certain men had especial reputations as repositories of genealogical lore, and I began my investigations with the aid of one of the most famous of these, Parkurs (8), an old man almost blind as the result of cataract and so feeble that he had to be carried when he came to see me. With his aid and that of many others I compiled the records given in Appendix V.

Throughout my visit, the collection of this genealogical material was regarded as something which should not be done. I never carried on this branch of my work during what I may call my public hours when I was visited by anyone who chose to come. At these times I sometimes obtained from a man the names of his wife and children, but always left any further inquiries till the time reserved for my investigations

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

into more esoteric matters, when only one man was alone with me and was not subject to the restraints imposed by auditors who might disapprove of the utterance of the names of the dead. 124 173 601

One result of the taboo on the names of dead ancestors was that the record of a man's family was never obtained from one of that family; but this was no disadvantage, for the genealogical knowledge of those from whom I obtained my data was so wide that it covered the families of the whole or nearly the whole of the Toda community. I have no doubt that I could have obtained the whole of the material given in the tables from two men, one of whom would have given me the genealogies of the Tartharol, and the other those of the Teivaliol, and if I had chosen my informants wisely, I believe that their information would have been as full and accurate as that obtained from my many sources of information. Further, I found that the Teivaliol had a wide knowledge of Tarthar genealogies, and *vice versâ*, though a man of one division usually refused to guarantee the accuracy of anything he told me about the other division, and would often disclaim knowledge which some chance observation later showed that he possessed, at any rate in some measure. 551 784 [616]

Although certain Todas had special reputations for their knowledge of pedigrees and were undoubtedly more proficient in this respect than the general mass of the community, I believe that the knowledge was very widely spread throughout the people. My guide Ködrner never professed to any special knowledge of genealogies, and yet chance observations would often show that his acquaintance with the pedigrees of the community was far more extensive and accurate than his professions would have led one to expect. 124 173 601

The results of the inquiry are given in Tables 1–72.[1] This large accumulation of genealogical material was obtained from people who professed at first not to know the names of their own fathers and mothers. It would have been quite easy for me to have come away from the Todas and reported them as a people who did not preserve their genealogies.

The pedigrees are recorded in exactly the same manner as those which I have published in the *Reports of the Torres* 128 601

[1] [pp. 749-788]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

601 The Toda system appears to be closely related to that
171 of the Dravidians of Southern India. In several cases the names for certain kin are identical with or closely resemble those of other South Indian languages.

The three most characteristic features of the Toda system are (i.) the use of the same term for mother's brother and father-in-law, &c.; (ii.) the marked development of vocative forms of the kinship terms; (iii.) the marked development of distinctions according to age. These three features are also found in Tamil, and as far as my information goes in Telugu and Canarese. The Toda system appears to be a simplified form of the Tamil system with many points of identity. The resemblance between the Toda and the Tamil names seems certainly to be closer than that between the Toda names and those of the Telugus and Canarese.

I do not wish here to consider these resemblances and differences in any detail, but in the Table on the opposite page I have given a list of those kinship terms in which the Todas resemble other inhabitants of Southern India. The Tamil terms I owe to Mr. K. Rangachari of Madras; the others I have taken from Morgan's *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Race*.

Kinship Taboos

601 A man never mentions the name of his *mun*. If he wishes
551 to make clear of whom he is speaking he will give the name
784 of the place at which his *mun* lives, as "*Tedshteiri ithvai en mun podchi*," "My uncle who lives at Tedshteiri." This restriction only applies to the own brothers of his mother. Other more distant *mun* may be spoken of by name, and as we have already seen, if a man wishes to make it clear of whom he is speaking, he mentions the name in addition to the kinship term.

A man is also prohibited from uttering the name of the man from whom he has received his wife—*i.e.*, to whom he has done *kalmelpudithti* (see p. 502). This man, who is called the *mokkudrtvaid*, is usually the father of the wife and would normally be also a *mun*, but sometimes the place of the

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

mokhudrtvaiol is usurped by somebody else and in such a case there might be no restriction on the name of the wife's real father. In the only case of this kind of which I have a record, the marriage of Siriar (20) and Pupidz, the place of *mokhudrtvaiol* was taken by Kuriolv, who was living with Pilimurg (7), the girl's mother, and though he was no real

	Toda.	Tamu.	Telegu.	Canarese.
Son	mokh	maghan		
Elder brother	an (anna)	aṇṇan (aṇṇa)	anna	anna
Elder sister	akkan (akka)	akkal (akka)	akka	akka
Mother's brother	mun (mámi)	amman or maman (mama)	mena mama	mava
Father-in-law	mun (mama)	mamaner (mama)	mama	mava
Father's sister	mumi (mimia)	attai		
Wife of mother's brother	mumi (mimia)	ammami		
Wife's mother	mumi (mimia)	mamiyar (ammami)		
Sister's son	manmokh	maruman or marumakan		
Mother's brother's son	matchuni	maittunan (?)		
Father's sister's son	matchuni	attan or maittunan		
Wife's brother	matchuni or paiol	machchinan or maittunan		

relative of the wife, Siriar might not mention his name. In spite of the fact, however, that Kuriolv had become his *mokhudrtvaiol*, Siriar went privately to Patirsh (35), the real father of his wife, and did *kalmelpudithi* and would also refrain from saying the name of this man.

A man is prohibited from saying the name of his wife's mother (*mumi*), but my notes do not make clear whether he is also prohibited from saying the names of other *mumi*—*i.e.*,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

601 father's sisters, but probably this is so. In any case this restriction only applies to near relatives.

551 A man may not utter the name of his *pian* or *piav*.

784 There seemed to be some reluctance to say the name of a wife, but there did not appear to be any definite prohibition against it. It was probably part of a reluctance to utter personal names in general of which the Todas show some traces, though it is less marked among them than in the case of many uncultured people.

The taboo on names was far wider in the case of dead relatives. No one was allowed to utter the name of a dead relative, and this rule appeared to be especially stringent in the case of relatives who had been older than the speaker. As I have already mentioned, this taboo was for some time a great obstacle in my way when trying to obtain the pedigrees of the people. If a man had to refer to a dead relative, he did so by mentioning the name of the village at which he had died; thus, if the father of a Taradr man had died at Taradr, the man would say, "*en in Taradr pon*," while, if he had died away from home, say at Kuudr, he would refer to his father as "*en in Kuudr odthavai*," "my father who died at Kuudr."

[765] In the funeral lamentations, each mourner mentions the deceased by the name indicating the bond of kinship between himself and the dead, and does not utter the personal name.

Kinship Salutations

601 There are certain well-defined salutations which are regulated by kinship.

602 The characteristic Toda salutation is called *kalmelpudithti*,
576 in which salutation one person kneels or bows down before another, while the latter raises each foot and touches the forehead of the other. In general this salutation is only paid by women to their elder male relatives; a woman places her head beneath the foot of her *pian*, *in*, *an*, or *mun*, using these terms in their widest sense. The salutation seems to be very largely one connected with kinship. In everyday life the salutation is only paid by women to men, but under special circumstances, men may bow down before men, and women

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

101 The various tribes on the hills have secret names; thus, both Badagas and Tamils are called *tutâr katvai*, he who wears or ties the turban; a Kota is called *ktmas ithvai*, he who is beneath; a Kurumba is called *ár kârthpol*, the man who watches the way; a European is called *pelthpol*, or white man. A forest guard is called *petuni ütvai*, *petuni* being here used as a term for uniform, so that if a forest guard has come, they will say, *petuni ütvai podvuchi*.

195 Several of the words used in the secret language do not appear to have any other meaning and are not ordinarily used.

198 Thus the ordinary word for tooth is *pars*, but in secret language *kâtô* or *kâtû* is used. This word is the name of the wall of a buffalo-pen and it is possible that it may mean stones, but I could not ascertain whether this was the derivation, and could only learn that it was another word for tooth. Similarly the ear, of which the ordinary name is *kevi*, is called *pertars*, and the question "Did you wear gold earrings?" becomes *pertarsk ütshia*? "to ear did you wear?"

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER XXVI

PERSONAL NAMES

551

THE ceremonies of name-giving have already been considered, the chief point of interest being that the name of a boy is given to him by his maternal uncle, while that of a girl is probably given by her paternal aunt. In this chapter I wish to consider the general nature of the personal names of the Todas and some special customs connected with them.

The genealogies provide a large store of material, for it is exceptional for two Todas to have the same name, and no Toda should bear a name which has been borne by another for four generations, and certainly not one which has been borne by one of his own family.

The great majority of Toda names have distinctive terminations which are different for men and women.

The common terminations for males are *-van*, *-kûdr*, *-kût* or *-kûtan*, *-olv*, *-eidi*, and *-ners*. The first was said to be the same word as *pan* or *pun*, the Toda name for the stone circles found on the summits of the hills. The names of deities often receive the same termination; thus Nòtirzi is also called Nòtirzivan, and, in several cases, men received the names of gods or hills followed by the syllable *-van*. The same termination is also given to names which have other derivations.

The terminations, *-kûdr* or *-gûdr*, *-kût* or *-kûtan*, are different forms of the word *kûdr*, which means primarily 'horn,' and when it occurs in a name seems to mean 'child.' The termination in *-kûdr* or *-gûdr* seems to be much more

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

551 frequently used by the Teivaliol than by the Tartharol, and in both divisions it is rare in older generations.

I do not know the meaning of the terminations in *-olv* and *-eidi*: it is noteworthy, however, that *-olv* is also a frequent ending of the names of dairies.

The termination *-ner* or *-ners* sometimes becomes *-ntr*, and it may be the word for water, possibly with the idea of 'spring.'

The usual terminations of female names are *-veli*, *-veni* or *-vani*, *-eimi*, and *-idj* or *-idz*. Of these, the first is by far the most frequent, being usually pronounced with a *th* sound, as in *-velthli* or *-vilthli*. It is possibly the same word as a frequent Indian name of Venus, which is also the Toda name for this planet. The word also means silver and in the form *pelthiti* is used for 'white.'

The termination *-veni* or *-vani* is probably derived from *pani*, which is said to be an ancient name for a Toda woman. Occasionally the latter form occurred, as in the name of Sinadapani (67), and one of the wives of Kwoten was named Kwaterpani. I know nothing of the derivation of the terminations *-eimi* and *-idz*.

The names of Todas are often derived from villages, dairies or dairy vessels, hills and their deities, and objects of various kinds. There seems to be no objection to use the names of deities or of such sacred objects as the *mani* as personal names, but only as those of men. Recently the Todas have begun to use words of Hindu or even English origin for the names of their children.

[177]

103 551 It is the names of men which are chiefly derived from villages, and at least twenty examples occur in the genealogies. In some cases the name of the village is used without any suffix, as in Ushadr (48) and Madsu (58); in other cases one or other of the customary terminations is used, as in Keradrkutan[1] (26), Nongarsivan (62), Kuirsiners (18), and Karseidi (8). The special point of interest here is that the names of villages which have now disappeared may be preserved as personal names; thus Harkness mentions the village of Kattaul as being near Ootacamund, and, though the

[1] This name also occurs in the story of Kwoten.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

village has now disappeared, its memory is preserved in the name Katolvan (44), borne by one of the Melgarsol, to whom the village belonged. Again, the village of Kepurs, an extinct village mentioned in the legend of Kwoten, is preserved in the name of Kepursvan (18), borne by one of Kwoten's clan, the Panol.

In general, when a man receives a name derived from a village or other place, the village or place is one belonging to his own clan. Names may be derived from *ti* places as well as from ordinary villages, of which Makars (10) and Pursas (42) are examples.

The special feature of interest about these sources of nomenclature is that personal names may thus preserve records of the past, and a full investigation of the genealogies from this point of view might bring to light the names of many other villages now extinct.

Names are also derived from dairies, buffalo-pens, stones, and other objects of the village; thus Tarziolv, the special name of the *kudrpali* of Kars, is borne by a member of the Karsol (15), and Tilipa (12) is probably a corruption of Tilipoh. A boy of Nidrsi is named Punatu (43) after the buffalo-pen of his village, and the men called Agar (7), Pepners (44), and Persinkudr (16), have received names connected with the operations of the dairy.

The names of stones occur in the examples Menkars (10) and Mutchud (45). Several men are named after the sacred bells, or *mani*, of which examples are Nalani (35), Kerani (35), Pongg (47), while Mudriners (57) is named after Mudrani, one of the *patatmani* of Kiudr. The name of Eshkiaguln of Kars (8) is very much like that of one of the bells of Nidrsi, Eshkiakudr, and in one case a man is called Maniners (62).

The *kwarzam* of the prayers form a frequent source of personal names. Thus the name of Puthion (64) occurs in the last clause of the Kuudr prayer, and no less than six men take their names, either directly or with some modifications, from the Kiudr prayer; these are Kil, Erai, Etamudri, Kwelthipush from Kwelpushol, Kishkar from Arsvishkars, and Keikudr, who was also called Parvakudr, derived from

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

551 another *kwarzam* of this prayer. In one of these cases the name is taken from the *kwarzam* with so much modification that I should not have guessed its derivation if I had not been told; and if this extensive modification is frequent, there may be many more names derived from *kwarzam* than appears to be the case at first sight.

The names of deities are not uncommonly adopted as personal names; the chief examples being Nòtirzi (47), Meilitars (44), Teipakh (20), Etepi (26), Karzo (12), Pòrzo (4), and Pakhwar (16). Two people are also called Tevò (3 and 53), which is a corruption of Teipakh, and a boy is called Kòdrthokutan (43). In many cases men are named after hills, of which Drugevan (40), Kòdrner (7), and Mopuvan[1] (16) are examples, and it is not improbable that these hills are also provided with deities. Two of the instances given above are the names of river-gods, and there is also a man, Palpa (16), named after the stream by which Kwoten met the goddess Terkosh. Punatvan (53) is named after one of the personages in the story of Kwoto. Among these names it is noteworthy that Nòtirzi, the name of a female deity, is borne by a man, and that there is no instance in which a man is named after one of the three ancient and important deities, Pithi, Ön, and Teikirzi.

551 This use of the names of deities as personal names seems
771 to point to the absence of any high degree of reverence for the divine beings. The Todas are by no means free from the ideas of danger and disrespect connected with the utterance of names; and if their gods still received any great degree of veneration, I think it is improbable that their names would be allowed to be in everyone's mouth, as must be the case when used as personal names. It is possible that this use of the names of deities is recent; it is certainly more frequent at the present time than in the older generations recorded in the genealogies, and I strongly suspect that the practice adds another indication to those already given of the decay of the religious sentiment of the Todas.

551 It seems to be extremely rare for persons to have the same

[1] Mopuvan is named after the hill Mopuvthut, which is mentioned in the legend of Puni (193).

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

names as buffaloes. There is only one doubtful example in the genealogies, Kerani (35). This is also the name of a bell, and I am doubtful whether it is really a buffalo-name. It is probable that the absence of the names of buffaloes is merely utilitarian and has no deeper significance. Buffaloes are generally referred to by name, and it would obviously be inconvenient that they should have the same names as people. 551

Many other names are derived from objects or from the language of everyday life. Examples of such are Nipa, stream; Perol, unsanctified man; Irsimitch, lime; Sakari, sweet; Kakar, a grass; Mogai, cubit; Kapur, camphor; and Pòl, a two-year-old calf. Sometimes such words become names by the addition of the terminations *-kûdr* or *-veli*, as in Panmkudr, the horn of a four-anna piece, and Nirveli and Kadakveli, derived from the words for water and for the wild rose. Probably with a wider knowledge of the Toda vocabulary, it would be found that a very large number of the names are formed in this way.

In one case a girl was called Mudukugh (72). She was the third girl in the family, and the name was no doubt given to commemorate the fact.

Often two or more children of a family are given names with a considerable degree of similarity to one another. In one case two brothers are called Mongeidrvan and Tergeidrvan (53); in another, Piliar and Piliag (52); and in a third, Singudr and Sinar (55); three sisters are called Teinesveli, Ternersveli, and Kenerveli (51), and in such cases it seems probable that new names are invented.

At the present time children are in many cases receiving Hindu names. Three young boys are called Arjun, Parvishki, and Sandisparan, and a young girl is called Natcham, which was said to represent Latchmi. Other Hindu names are Katcheri (Cutcherry), Sirkar, Kedjeri, and probably there are many others. 177 551

In a few cases names of English origin have probably been given, as in the case of Pensil, and the name Birkidj was said to be derived from Breeks.

The genealogical record shows clearly that this use of names derived from external sources is quite recent. There is a very

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

177 striking difference in general character between the names of the present and those of older generations, and a foreign origin is especially frequent in the names of children less than ten or fifteen years of age. The evidence from names would seem to point to a rapid spread of outside influence during the last ten years.

Shortened forms of names are often used. The termination of a word may be dropped; thus Nurmaners is often called Nurman, Ultzkudr becomes Ultz, and Paniolv, Pani. Sometimes the contraction is of a different kind; thus the girls Astrap and Pumundeivi are usually called Asp and Pumidz, and the name of the boy Kulpakh often becomes Kulen.

In addition to his proper name nearly every Toda has a nickname, usually given to him by the Badagas. These names often refer to some personal peculiarity, and this is probably the reason why nicknames were usually given to me with great reluctance, there being a distinct reversal of the condition found in communities of lower culture, where the proper names are usually kept secret, while only nicknames are uttered. Arpurs (46) was nicknamed Suri (knife) on account of his sharp nose, and Nertolvan (16) is called Teinkan or 'Bee eye,' on account of the smallness of his eyes, like those of the honey bee. In other cases I do not know the origin of the Badaga names, but they have usually different forms from those of true Toda names, often terminating in *-oin* or *-iiln*. Sometimes the Badaga name is merely a modification of the Toda name, as when Tudrvan becomes Utudiki. In a few cases I heard the Badaga name of a man more often than his Toda name; thus Tövoniners is usually called Aravoin, and a noted Toda of the last generation is always spoken of by his Badaga name, Mervoin. In a few cases, men long dead are remembered by their Badaga names, while their Toda names are forgotten.

551 As I have already indicated, nicknames are often used by people of low culture as a means of evading taboos, and though, as we shall see shortly, such taboos exist among the Todas, I met with no instance in which a Toda, who was unable to utter a name, gave a nickname in its stead.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

From the foregoing account it is evident that in the names of the Todas we have a storehouse of words the investigation of which might lead to many discoveries in connexion with their half-forgotten folklore and past history. We have seen that the names of villages which have now entirely disappeared may still be preserved in the names of persons, and I have little doubt that a complete investigation of the names included in the genealogies would furnish a record of many more extinct villages and possibly provide clues to institutions which have now wholly disappeared.

Change of Name

There are three chief conditions which lead Todas to change their names. If two men have the same name, and one of the two should die, the other man would change his name, since the taboo on the name of the dead would prevent people from uttering the name of the living. The most recent example of this occurred about six years ago. There were two men named Matovan, one of Pan (19) and the other of Kwòdrdoni (34). The Kwòdrdoni man died and Matovan of Pan changed his name to Imokhvan, and it is this name which will be found in his pedigree.

This change of name may also be effected even when there is only a similarity between two names. Thus when Punbuthuvi, the wife of Parkurs (8), died, Sinbuthuvi of Kusharf (65) changed her name to Pukuruveli. Similarly when Òners of Kuudr (56) died, Piners of Piedr[1] (64) changed his name to Tokulvan.

A person may also change his name merely because it is the same as, or very similar to, that of another, this being done simply to avoid inconvenience and misunderstanding. It sometimes happens that a child is given the same name as some other child, and then one or other is renamed. Thus a boy was named Oblodj, but it was found later that there was a girl at Kars called Obalidz (12), and so the name

[1] It will be noticed that, in these two cases, the old names are those which occur in the genealogies. My informant probably remembered these better than the new names, which had been assumed only late in life.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

553 of the boy was changed to Meilitars (44). A boy of Päm was called Kudeners, but it was found that there was another Kudeners at Taradr (25), so the name of the former was changed to Arparners, often shortened to Arpar (38).

When Kainir (3) married, his wife's name was Kanir, but she changed it since it was so like that of her husband. It was said to have been changed to Singub, but she was always known as Udz at the time of my visit.

Change of name of this kind is not obligatory, and there are several cases in which two people now living have the same name. When a change is made because two people have the same name or similar names, it is the younger of the two who changes. In most of the cases in which two people bear the same name it will be found that one belongs to the Tartharol and the other to the Teivaliol, and I am doubtful whether in this case names are changed except as the result of death.

553 A third reason for changing names is illness or other mis-
755 fortune. When a man is ill, change of name is sometimes recommended by a diviner, but this is not often done. One of my guides, Kutadri (7), had changed his name twice. His original name had been Okeithi or Okvan, but as there was another Okvan of Keadr (68), he became Tagarsvan. Later he fell ill, and, on the recommendation of a diviner, Tagarsvan changed his name to Kutadri, and I never heard him spoken of or addressed by any but this name during my visit.

Taboos on Names

551 The only definite restrictions on the utterance of the names of living people are those connected with kinship which have already been considered in Chapter XXI. A man may not utter the names of his mother's brother, his grandfather and grandmother, his wife's mother, and of the man from whom he has received his wife, who is usually the wife's father. The names of the above are tabooed in life, while after death the restrictions are still wider, and it is forbidden to utter the name of any dead elder relative, while the names of the dead are in any case only said reluctantly.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

551

It may seem strange that this reluctance should exist among a people who possess so full a genealogical record. The reluctance probably only extends to the public utterances of ordinary life and disappears when the people discuss affairs in which genealogical lore plays a part, or when they are transmitting this lore to others.

In addition to the definite taboos, there is often much reluctance in uttering personal names. The Todas dislike uttering their own names, and a Toda, when asked for his name, would often request another man to give it. Sometimes my guide was obviously reluctant to give me the names of the people who came to see me, and it seemed to me that this was especially so when the people were related to him by marriage, *i.e.*, men who had married into his clan; but I could not satisfy myself definitely that it made him more uncomfortable to utter the names of such relatives than those of other people.

In some parts of the world the taboo on the names of the dead involves also a taboo on the names of the objects which correspond to the names of the dead or to parts of these names. If such restrictions existed among the Todas, they would have on the death of Nirveli and Panmkudr to find other names for water and for a four-anna piece. It was quite clear, however, that there were no such restrictions, and that this frequent cause of change of vocabulary has not been at work in the case of the Toda language.

CHAP. VII.

553 intent and loving eye, and with wide-open mouth, the naming of her son. YE-A-AH! YEN POPEN! she said, tenderly.

The father also names the girls. But they are not taken to a temple for the purpose. 'It grows up with the name by which its father calls it in the village' say the Todas.

838 562 'No children may enter the outer wall—tûar—of sacred places, until they have cut their teeth.' Such is the unchanging law of these Medes and Persians. The reason why, is not known: it is sufficient that 'our forefathers always did so.' Perhaps as a matter of cleanliness: but probably to obviate the necessity for their mothers running after them within the precincts. As *women are not held unclean*, it is likely this rule may result from prudential grounds.

574 846 A feast—a little more sugar and a little more nei—is given about the time a child is named; apparently so soon as both mother and infant are strong; and perhaps seasons favouring.

551 The following are the names of men:

Netarâdi.	Kirnâl.
Beliâni.	Tinkuttan.
Narikutti.	Nidiabên.
Azavom.	Kêdâlbên.
Pernâl.	Kêvi.

157 551 Nearly every man has one or even more nicknames—porra[6] hesru—which have been given to him by his associates, mainly on account of some incident in life; sometimes from gait or physical peculiarities, though more rarely so, for the similarity between Todas is great, and their freedom from eccentricity so remarkable, that salient points in figure 463 and manner do not often present themselves. No Toda, 551 however rich he may be, having landed property, and no trade being followed by anyone, or other occupation than those of a priestly nature, names cannot be obtained from these ordinary sources.

[6] Porra = *outside*.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

531

those ordinary sources. Nor, as I notice, are they ever called 'of such a village,' 'of the brae,' 'of the hill;' presumably because every Mand has its duplicate, with a different appellation and varying nature of locality.

An informant acknowledged with much laughter and shamefacedness, that his own nickname was Gurugudugan or Gurugurgan—so far as could be understood through his modesty. It appears that when driving an *old* buffalo—let this be remembered when we describe funeral obsequies—purchased from a Badaga village for funeral purposes, it died on the road. And this word, whatever its meaning may be, seems to have been given him in ridicule for having purchased an animal that at once died.

His father, he said, was termed Bülta, from Bült, a bird; being noted for swiftness of foot in his occupation of driving cattle.

Here are a few nicknames:

Kalkutti.	Mûrukâlu.
Kûndagalla.	Kûndemati.

Bira.

Some *sobriquets* have, as might be expected, indecent meanings.

'Are you called by your name or by your nickname?' I asked of a young man. 'Generally by my porra hesru; but when they want anything of me they are more civil, and use my proper name.'

I do not know if women have any such *sobriquets*. Indeed some delicacy is shown in mentioning women's names at all. And I experienced difficulty in obtaining the following; each man being willing to tell those of every man's wife and daughter but his own. I observe in a book on the Todas by a late author, that the designations he has given are literally 'wife or daughter of so and so'—being a man—but not the actual name of a woman:

CHAP. VII.

551

Quêldirth.	Jinvani.
Tushquilth.	Nastufi.
Muneth.	Ânchaguti.
Penpuv.	Chizarêm.
Dirthavilli.	Pentirêm.

553 A woman retains her maiden name on marriage; being known, for instance, as Nastufi, the wife of Beliâni.

551 576 601 It is etiquette in speaking of another man's wife to term her either kottê or pannê;[7] the first, if her husband is of the Pyki clan, the second if of the Pekkan, Tôdi, Kenna, or Kuttan clans.

A man calling to his wife, or a wife to her husband, would not say 'come here Nastufi or Beliâni,' but 'kukh itva, come here woman,' or 'âl itva, come here man.'

But the more proper term by which a man speaks of his wife is yen kâtvoti.[8]

According to these rules, people talking of the woman Nastufi, would describe her as Beliani pannê, or kottê. *He* would mention her as kâtvoti. He would *call out* to her as kukh.

List of Relationships.

601 Man, person, husband . . Âl.
Man—young . . . . Varsh.[9]

[7] Kottê. Pannê. Such terms are difficult. They are frequently of a depreciatory character.

Kôṭṭa = *a fort* or *large dwelling*. Kôṭṭi = *a person of a fort, a superior inhabitant*. Paṇi = *jewel*. Paṇi = *work*. [POPE.]

[8] Yen Kâtvoti. Yen or en = *my*, constantly prefixed in Drâvidian to words indicative of relationship.

Kaṭṭu = *bind, join*. V is an insertion of tense, used in forming verbal nouns with a future or indefinite temporal signification.

Ati is a feminine termination.

The word means, '*she who is bound to me*.' [POPE.]

[9] This is, I think, Sansk. : purusha. But there is viras, *a hero*.

In old high Tamil we have virral, and the termination al becomes in Toda sh as a general rule. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

and kiss its face: then sitting in groups of pairs—both sexes indiscriminately—with the tops of their foreheads joined, give way to wailing and lamentation. A most singular and interesting spectacle, rendered more piquant and real, by the aspect of a small boy who, not finding his pair, was running about from one crying group to another, blubbering till his face was distorted and swollen, looking amongst the mantles for a spare head to rest his own against.

Thus they remain till the body has been consumed: when the lock of hair that had been cut off, together with portions of the half-burnt skull—nirrzh[9]—are collected in a piece of cloth, to be deposited in a corner of his house,[10] henceforth kept shut up, till the bara kêdu.

The silver and gold of the burnt jewellery are sought for from the ashes, but little valueless odds and ends—as knives, iron rings and other ornaments, the rings off the ends of wooden pestles—together with the ashes of the dead, are buried in the ground. The hole which contains these remains is then filled up with earth, on which water *is* poured. Over all a stone. The earthen vessel which held the water is broken.

Having saluted the spot where the ashes have been buried, by touching it with their foreheads, they leave the place, avoiding it henceforward, but merely on account of the painful associations connected with it. A person once dead is never *named*, though he may be made the subject of conversation.

It is a mistake to suppose these people have a feast—a jollification—after this funeral. Indeed they are as little disposed for anything of the sort as we should be in the same position. But a number of friends from a distance have to be fed, and as all are not real *mourners*, and have many of them brought excellent appetites, they eat.

[9] Nirrzh. Nirru.=*sacred ashes, ashes.* This is at the root of it. [POPE.]

[10] Some such custom would be the origin of the Manes and Penates.

About Octacamund a few Todas have latterly begun to imitate the religious practices of their native neighbours. In *Plate* XI. the right hand figure has his forehead smeared with ashes. Occasionally children's foreheads are marked with the Śaiva spot, and my particular friend, Kinnivan, after an absence of some days, returned with a shaven head from a visit to the temple of Śiva at Nanjanagudi. He assumed, however, the tone of an *esprit fort* on the subject, and said that his relatives believed in Nanjunda, and that he had gone to please them.

The only purely religious ceremony which the Todas have, is the *Kŏna Shastra*, or annual sacrifice of a male buffalo calf. It may take place at any time of the year, apparently when it pleases the *pŏjâri*. Any mand may celebrate the Kŏna Shastra if the *pŏjâri* is willing. The inhabitants of other mands of the same clan are duly invited. The calf, eight days old, is brought to a neighbouring okole. The Pelki *Pawâkil* comes with three holy branches of the *Tîr* tree, and repeats the names of all the gods of the four divisions; then the calf is killed with a branch of the *Tîr*. The flesh must not be boiled, but roasted on a fire,* made by rubbing together two sticks of the cavala, sanku, or *Acer* trees, and eaten by the celebrants. Women cannot attend or partake of the feast.

The institution is *Mŏnol*,† they say, and was ordained by Kŏtan, their ancestor, by way of ensuring prosperity for themselves and their buffaloes.

Their domestic ceremonies are more elaborate and interesting.

I begin with those that are usual on the birth of a child.

As soon after birth as possible, a young buffalo calf is brought near the house; the father takes three small bamboo measures filled with water, and holding two of them close to the right side of the calf's hind quarters, pours the water from the third measure into the other two.

Two leaves of a tree are also brought; one is given to the woman, another held by the husband, who pours water from a measure into the leaf in his hand, and from it to that held by the woman.‡ The latter drinks and puts a drop into the child's mouth three times, after which the woman and child, accompanied by the husband, are removed to a separate hut (*Purshŏrsh*) outside the mand, where they remain till the next new moon.

When she returns to her own house, a similar ceremony is repeated with milk, and a Paikâra man must be called to milk the buffalo.

In wards containing a central temple (*kov*), the *Purshŏrsh* is situated a long way off; in others it is close at hand.

When the child is a few months old, the father takes the child (if a boy) early in the morning to the door of the village *Pŏlkŏli*, and prostrates himself there. The maternal grandfather then names the child. No particular custom seems to determine the child's name, except that they say that all their names of men, as well as of their kraals and

* Cf. *Manu* iii. 9.

† *Mŏnol* (mauna) and *Shastra* (law or religion) are the invariable reply of a Toda when asked to give a reason for his practices.

‡ A similar ceremony amongst the Badagers is described by *Jukes* (*People of India*, p. 94). In this case the *Purshŏrsh* pours water into the hands of husband and wife, who drop part of it on their heads and drink the rest.

553 drinking springs, are names of gods. Female children are not taken to the *Pálkchi* and christened; there is no ceremony in their case. The mother calls her female • 551 child by any name she fancies. She will never give the child her own name.

Early betrothals are common amongst the Todas. The boy is taken to the girl's 554 house and salutes his future father-in-law by lifting the feet of the latter to his forehead. An interchange of buffaloes completes the contract. When the time arrives for claim- 553 ing his wife, the young man goes alone to the mand of his father-in-law, who gives him the girl, and a separate house to live in for a few days. There is another exchange of buffaloes, and the bride is taken home.

When two or more brothers* are the husbands of one wife, this ceremony is performed with the eldest alone.

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601 * Names used to express relationships in Toda.

	English.	Toda.	Literal Meaning.
1.	Father	*Ön, Ayan.*	
2.	Mother	*Aff.*	
3.	Son	*Mökk.*	
4.	Daughter	*Kökk.*	
5.	Father's elder brother	*Perudin*	Great father.
6.	" younger "	*Kwudin*	Little do.
7.	" elder sister	*Mönl.*	
8.	" younger "		
9.	Mother's elder brother	*Mönon.*	
10.	" younger "		
11.	" elder sister	*Perukuf*	Great mother.
12.	" younger "	*Kwukuf*	Little do.
13.	Father's brother's son	*do*	Brother.
14.	" " daughter	*Akkon*	Sister.
15.	" sister's son	*Mochon.*	
16.	" " daughter	*Tejmukk*	Female.
17.	Mother's sister's son	*do*	Brother.
18.	" " daughter	*Akkon*	Sister.
19.	" brother's son	*Mochon.*	
20.	" " daughter	*Tejmukk*	Female.

Nos. 5, 6, 13, and 14 at first sight would appear resemble to polyandry, but Nos. 11, 12, 17, and 18 create a difficulty.

Toda have no name for *husband* and *wife* beyond *Ön* and *Tejmukk*, which simply mean man and woman.

In *Anthropological Journal for January and July 1871*, page 58, *pe* is said to be *father* in Toda. I do not find it so.

	Male Names.	Female Names.
587	1. Kivi, a sacred buffalo bell of a Tiriveri is so called.	1. Kökkwuli, (lit.) silver coin.
	2. Perudi, literally a great man.	2. Tarudökin, (lit.) a jewel coin.
	3. Kökkin, (lit.) child of jackal.	3. Tökkin, (lit.) gold coin.
	4. Pookki, (lit.) child of gold.	4. Barrth, so meaning that I am find son.
	5. Tökkin, (lit.) do.	5. Dapkin, (lit.) silver ring.
	6. Pudrikkin, (lit.) name of a god who resides on a mountain.	6. Pookkirkwanni, (lit.) gold ankle bells.
	7. Kökkwin, (lit.) the man of the funeral.	7. Kanukwa, (lit.) Canabarry, flower often.
	8. Ködin, (lit.) a man.	8. Pökkwurugu, (lit.) white ear ring in the top of the ear.
	9. Belurwin, (lit.) like silver.	9. Pökwuna, (lit.) white ring.
	10. Kwudi, (lit.) little man.	10. Tökka, (lit.) doctor. This child was so called because an European doctor cured it of an illness soon after its birth.

In the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy, she marks her two thumbs in two places by a slight burn with a lighted rag.

In the seventh month, at the time of new moon, the woman's father visits the husband's hut. The husband asks "Shall I tie the *Tâli*?"* The father consents. The husband then asks "Shall I give a bow?" The father says "Yes." The husband makes a bow of the *Hubbe* shrub (*Sapium glaucum*), the bark serving for the string. He takes this into a Shola in the afternoon, and gives it to his wife, who, sitting down before a jungle tree, in the stem of which a convenient hole can be found to place a small earthenware lamp, asks the name of the bow, holds it a little while, and then places it at the foot of the tree.

Each mand has a different name for the bow—

In Kândal it is *Perukolkhem*.
" Muttiahâd " *Perukivâh*.
" Kodanâd " *Kurrkdeevirh*.
" Manjakal " *Bolipdrif*.

They remain in the Shola all night, and eat their morning meal there, returning home in the evening. On this occasion the woman's father generally presents the couple with a *Nâga* (a buffalo heifer). I have tried to find out the origin and object of these customs, but can get no further than *Mânâd* and *Shôtru*. One man added "*By the Bow and Arrow we have got a wife who is with child.*"†

The most remarkable portions of the Toda ritual are those connected with the dead, in which there is much that is beautiful. A Toda always pays to the departed the respect of silence. A dead man's name is never heard again; his friends resort to any amount of periphrasis rather than profane by ordinary use "the household name of one whom God has taken."

They have two ceremonies; the "green funeral" (*Kavdesi Kîdu*), which takes place soon after death, and the "dry funeral" (*Morsendi Kîdu*), a sort of commemorative festival, sometimes performed by the relatives of a single person, but more frequently in honour of any number of one clan who may have died within a twelvemonth or so.

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* The *Tâli* is the Hindu equivalent of wedding ring. It is either a gold ornament of a peculiar shape, or a necklace of beads, which is tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom at the time of marriage. Among the Todas a string of black beads represents the Tâli.

† *New Canny Minnâro*, by Rev. H. Mengling, p. 60 :—

" As soon as a Canny boy is born, a little bow of a cane-like plant stick (*Bâmbusa communis*), with an arrow " made of a leaf stalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands. He is then, at taking his first breath, " introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior."

‡ A somewhat similar use of the bow is described in Dr. Leitner's account of Dardistan (*Ind. Antiquary*, No. 1, p. 13.) "When the bridegroom has to go for his bride to a distant village, he is furnished with a bow. " On arriving at his native place, he crosses the breast of his bride with an arrow, and then shoots it off. He " generally shoots three arrows in the direction of his home." Are these traces of "marriage by capture"? That such marriages have been a recognized practice in India from remotest times is evident from Manu, iii. 33.

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* See *Development of Schoolmarriage*, by Dr. R. Leitner; *Journal Anthropological Institute*, vol. for January, July 1871, page 9 :—

" Marriage in Rome was symbolized by capture or purchase, as among many of the lower races at the present day. In fact the " idea of marriage among the lower races of men generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not " spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife is not valued but enslaved to her husband."

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Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboo* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103-13, 1937); in that paper, č, š, ž should be read for ч, ш, ж in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[1] mentions the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondaviidz. One of these is the daughter of imuuxfuun (19, Imokhvan)[2] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midxrüuir (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sondur to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

§3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as töö "god" or tkoir "sacred place" or by the compound töönoir, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between mod "mund" and noir when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god öm who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the töönoir, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund mymj.

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619-27.

[2] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[4] Toda terminology applies the word *mod* to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 343-63, 1937).

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It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly.

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the kūasm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of kūasm, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toiṛθasoɨ̯ moiety, but not among the tōūfiɨ̯joɨ̯), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, tiɪ-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of kūasm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one kūasm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one kūasm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the kūasm.

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and kūasm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. ūuɪsoiɪ of the melgaɪsoɨ̯ (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. paɪng (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. maɪkaɪs of the kaɪsoɨ̯ (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tiɪ-places of this sib. toɪsjaʃʃ of the kaɪsoɨ̯ (15, Tarsiolv) has the name of the kuṛpoɨ̯ dairy at the mund kaɪs. komdūuɪ of the toiroiɪoɨ̯ (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kogfoɨ̯ dairy at the mund toiroiɪ. pepoɪb of the melgaɪsoɨ̯ (44, Pepob) has the name of a snake said to live at kuɪsaɪs, a mund of the sib. kōiroiɪxūuṭn of the kōiroiɪoɨ̯ (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second kūasm of the people of the sib. oɪtjaɪs of the puɪgoiɪoɨ̯ (34, Atiurs) has the second kūasm of the people of the sib. munoɪnbiʃʃtj, son of koɪtaɪθj (12, Kacheidi) has one of the kūasm of the buffaloes of his sib.

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778 §6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this
551 is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has
614 been used in a previous generation. See e.g. tæɵj in §12 and ʈæɵjxæɪn, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. tɯɪpɯsxɵ̈mʈo, son of tæɪpɯx (20, Teipakh), and tɯɪfnɯs (25, Tiveners) are both called after the kogfoȷ̈j dairy at the mund toɪroɪɣ, which is named tɯɪpɯsforɵ̈. In the case of one man panɯs (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is koɪnɯs, which is the first kɵ̈ɯsm of the mund paʃtɯɪr of the toɪroɪroȷ̈, but that a real kɵ̈ɯsm of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name panɯs is based on the second kɵ̈ɯsm of this mund, paɪngub, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged kɵ̈ɯsm of two munds which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. ɵ̈ɪkjaȷ̈f (24, Irkiolv) after the kɵ̈ɯsm ɵ̈ɪɾpɯs, ɵ̈ɪkjaȷ̈f, and oɪxɵ̈ɯlɲ (24, Orguln) after the kɵ̈ɯsm oɪɾpɯs, oɪxɵ̈ɯlɲ; the kɵ̈ɯsm are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not
551 dealing in these two cases with munds whose gods are regarded as no longer
778 existent is clear, for kiɪɾpɯs of the niɾjoȷ̈ (43, Kidrners) derives his name
778 from the unchanged second kɵ̈ɯsm of the mund niɾj, and oɾjxɯɪs of the
614 mɵ̈ɪroȷ̈ (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second kɵ̈ɯsm of the mund pan. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be reoccupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

193 §7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always
551 clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of
103 compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. tɵ̈mod (24, Teimad) <a valley (paʃ) called tɵ̈modfaʃ. mɵgoj (24, Mogal) <mɵgojnæɪs "cubit (mɵgoj)-shade (næɪs)," a shady place at the male funeral-place tyʃtɯɪm[6] of his sib.[6] kakɯɪr (20, Kakar) <kakɯɪrxɵ̈mt, an open place in the middle of thickets (kɵ̈mt) near the mund toɪroɪɣ. See also kæm in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in kiɵjmɯɾj (20, Kidimudrl) <kiɵjmɯm, a mountain; mɯm is the peak of a hill and mɯɾj may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

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[6] Rivers (p. 622) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of everyday life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetics, but derived as it is by curtailment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

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§8. In many of the names the substituted suffix is -kũɯɪr. This is clearly the noun kũɯɪr "stream," "path," or "horn." One man kũɑɪngũɯɪr (63, Kwongudr) is named after kũɑɪngũɯɪr, the meeting place of the assembly of the tribe; the place-name is that of a stream flowing in the valley at this place. noɪrgũɯɪr (62, Nargudr) <a stream and pool near the mund tõgoɪr. In some other personal names it is probable that this suffix has reference to a stream; e.g. iɪʂxũɯɪr (21, Idrshkwõdr) <iɪʂfaʃ, a valley (paʃ) near the mund toɪroɪr; idzxũɯɪr (23, Idjkudr) <idzfaʃ, a valley near the mund paʃtɯɪr; in both these cases the valley has a stream. tõɪɪxũɯɪr (63, Terkudr) <a path near the mund æɪpɯɪgoɪr. In many other names however -kũɯɪr can have no reference to a stream or a path, and there is great probability that the word kũɯɪr has its other meaning "horn;" so in fact the Todas analyse the names. The horns of their buffaloes are much admired by the Todas, and in such a buffalo-centred culture it is not surprising that "horn" should be an element in names. This use is clear in such a name as kæmxũɯɪr (62, Kangudr), where kæm refers to a sacred buffalo of his sib. Such a case as kerxũɯɪr (63, Kergudr) <the mund kerxoɪr, is much less obvious and is clearly of the same nature as those names discussed in §9. The word has come to be felt as a suffix that may be used with little regard to the meaning but merely for the connotive force. For the specific origin of the use we may, however, reasonably look to the use of stream-names and path-names and the presence in the language of the homonyms kũɯɪr "stream" or "path" and kũɯɪr "horn."[7]

[7] I have made this specific analysis for the benefit of psychologists who may wish to find in these personal names a phallic significance. Such a significance is certainly not there on the surface. Moreover, in the erotic songs which I have recorded, where phallic symbolism is to be looked for, the horn does not occur as a phallic symbol. A number of such symbols that are used are given in the following paragraphs.

The most common symbolism that is to be regarded as sexual is that of the bee and the flower: a specimen of this type is given in *The Songs of the Todas*, p. 551. I also remark there that the same metaphor is used of a man catching a buffalo at a funeral, and finally in a marginal use to describe the activities of the bed-bug.

In one of the songs in which a woman is represented as talking about the party that had come to carry her off to give her in marriage to an old man comes the couplet:

paʃɣumiʃ	paɲk æɪfum
flower-like fruit	crowd-for I became
taɪʃomoʃ	taɪɲk æɪfum
pole-who are-men	bushes-to they became

i.e. "for the crowd of Toda men I have become a lime; men who are (or, who have) long poles have hidden in the bushes to carry me off." The taɪʃa is a long pole carried at a two-day funeral; reference to the lime is common in such connections, especially as a vocative addressed to a beautiful woman. The informants said that in this passage there is another meaning, viz. that since the husband is old, she thinks that all the Todas will come to have intercourse with

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193 551 §9. The frequent suffix -kūwṭn has defied analysis. Rivers[8] thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in pwtʃofxūwṭn (a son of sirjɑɪr 20)<pwtʃof, a mountain near the mund toɪroɪr, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in twɪpwɪsxūwṭn (20; referred in §6)<twɪpwɪsforū, the kogfoʃj dairy at toɪroɪr; kæɪnxūwṭn, son of toɪlirθj and nertnwɪs (24, Tòleidi and Nertiners)<kæɪnaʃf, the ūwɪsoʃj dairy at the mund korkos. A son of kūnroɪn of the pwɪrgoɪroʃ (34, Kwodron) is named ɑsojxūwṭn<ɑsojwɪr, the buffaloes of the tɪɪ of this sib. kɔɪkɪsjxūwṭn (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the [177] Badaga name of another man kekæɪrjxūwṭn in table 25)<kɔɪkɪsjxuɖd, the name of buffalo-track (kuḍd) leading to the mund toɪroɪr.

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fwn; e.g. in kɑroɾfwn (21, Karadrvan)<kɑroɾθwṭ, name of a mountain (twṭ) near toɪroɪr; wɪrkūwɪrfwn (24, Idrkudrvan)<wɪrkūwɪrfɑɪw, a river (pɑɪw) near Mt. kɑroɾ; pwtʃefwn (24, Pachievan)<pwtʃof, a mountain near toɪroɪr (cf. pwtʃofxūwṭn in §9); kergæɪrfwn (25, Kerskedrvan)<kergæɪrfɑɪw, a stream near the mund pɑʃtoɪr; ɑsojfwn<ɑsojwɪr, the buffaloes of the tɪɪ belonging to the pwɪrgoɪroʃ, is another name of poɪtwṣ (35, Patirsh; cf. ɑsojxūwṭn in §9); mupwɪfwn (16, Mopuvan)<mupwɪf, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to [888] the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pæɪθoɪʃ or pæɪθoɪʃfwn, kæɪnodz or kæɪnodzfwn; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familiar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits [114] of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is mwn, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word pwn, which is the only possibility, [192] means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

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[83] [553] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[8] Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

831 192 [9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. The three meanings given for pwn belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fwn derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

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§11. Another frequent suffix is -nuɪs. It is found also in a number of kūasm of munds and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. mymj of the kuɪrūmṭoɪ̯ is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first kūasm is paɪrnuɪs which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (nuɪs) of the 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) and 1800 (puɪṭṇuɪr) in number. If this is correct, nuɪs, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem nul- "to stand;" the change of l to *s* is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the kūasm koɪnuɪs of the mund nyɪḷṇ of the meḷgaɪsoɪ̯ is to be interpreted as koɪn-nuɪs "the place of the god koɪn;" kom or komṣōō is the mountain near this mund. The first kūasm of the mund meḷgaɪs is naɪsnuɪs, clearly to be connected with the two kūasm of the people of this sib, naɪsṣoɪr, naɪsfep, the first of which has the element toɪr which means the endogamous moiety toɪrṣaɪsoɪ̯ as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first kūasm of the buffaloes of this sib, naɪsiɸṇ, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at meḷgaɪs, naɪsūuɪ (i.e. naɪs-tūuɪ "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element naɪs means is quite unknown; but naɪsnuɪs is "the place of the naɪs." Two munds, kɪuɪr of the kuɪrūmṭoɪ̯ and kūaɪrθyṇj of the puɪrgoɪroɪ̯, have kūatæmuɪs as their first kūasm. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as "the standing-place of kūatæm (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the mōɪroɪ̯ sib);" what connection he had with these two munds is unknown. Two place-names, not kūasm, with this element are poɪ̯jnuɪs "the place of the funeral-ḅut," a male funeral-place of the kuɪrūmṭoɪ̯, and maɪsnuɪs, a female funeral-place of the mōɪroɪ̯, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element -nuɪs is appropriate in place-names and kūasm of munds. A brother of momgiɪθj (15, Mongeithi), not recorded in the tables, is kɪuɪdnuɪs, whose name is the first kūasm of the mund kiʃker of his sib. kaɪsnuɪs (56, Karsners) < the first kūasm of the mund taɪmuɪx of his sib. The name kɪmuɪs (26, Kiner) is derived from kɪmuʃnuɪs, the first kūasm of the mund kōɪroɪr, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in -nuɪs. For it is certain that -nuɪs is now felt as a

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is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic study. It may be remarked, however, that the meanings "gold" and "privates of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-taboos work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, p. 119).

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suitable ending for personal names. E.g. panuɪ and tuɪɪfnuɪ (§6); kũuɪrjnuɪ (25, Kudeners) < the relic-burning place kũuɪrjoɪsoɪrm at the funeral-place tyɉtsũuɪ; piɻdjnuɪ (21, Püldenir) < piɻdjxaɪfem, the slope of a hill near the mund kũuɪrmaɪɪ; nertnuɪ (24, Nertiners) < nerpaʃt, an alternative name, or unerpaʃt, the first kũaɪm, of the mund tæɪlgũuɪɪr.

[103] §12. Another suffix of quite unknown meaning, but probably originally at home in place-names, is -iθj. ertsiθj (20, Ircheidi) is taken without change from the name of a hill near the mund kuɪkoɪ. All the other names with this suffix that I can derive show it as a suffix or as a substitute for some other element; e.g. tuɪsiθj (20, Tirseidi) < tuɪkiɪjxöɪɪr, a pool at the mund toɪroɪɪr. He was a brother of ertsiθj, but his eldest brother, and so his name was not influenced by the latter's, but vice versa, and both were probably influenced either in formation or in choice by that of their father tæiθj. This last name is puzzling, but is said to be derived from tæif, the name of the mountain near the mund toɪroɪɪr, and we may suspect that -θj is related to the suffix -iθj. Two other brothers of tuɪsiθj have names with the same formative -iθj, tuɲpiθj (Tanpeidi) < kũuɪɪtθuɲp, the raised grassy mound (tuɲp) where the corpse is laid at the funeral-place tyɉtsũuɪ, and muɳdbiθj (Madbeithi) < muɳdboɪrθuɪt, a mountain near toɪroɪɪr. puɪkiθj (21, Parkeidi) < puɪkefem, the slope of a hill near the mund kuɪkoɪ. toɪliθj (24, Tòleidi) < toɪlfaɪu, a stream (puɪu) near the mund tæɪlgũuɪɪr. It was said that puɪlkiθj (22, Pulkeidi) was named after the mund puɪlkũuɪɪr and the mountain kiθjmuɪn near the mund kũuɪrmaɪɪ; this is possible, but derivation from puɪlkũuɪɪr alone is possible in view of the preceding examples. kyɗiθj (21, Kudstheidi) < kyɗ, a male funeral-place of the toɪroɪroʃ. kũuɪrtiθj (21, Kuteidi) < kũuɪɪtθuɲp, see tuɲpiθj above. These two men were brothers, an elder brother was puɪkiθj (explained above), their father was petũuɪθj and another elder brother was oɪrdũuɪθj; the similarity of endings is striking, and is paralleled by various similarities of ending (such as that given earlier in this paragraph) or of beginning in various families. The ending found in the last two names is probably -tũuɪθj. I know it in these names only. oɪrdũuɪθj (Arthothi) derives from oɪrtoʃ, an open stretch of ground (toʃ) near the mund oɪrtoʃ. The origin of petũuɪθj (Perututhi) is unknown.

§13. Another ending is -oɗa; e.g. kaɪnoɗa (21, Keinoda) < kaɪneʃɬ, the ũuɪseʃj dairy at the mund kuɪkoɪ. This ending appears preceding another suffix in the name of tyɉjoɗaɪxũuɪɪr, son of toɪliθj (24), named after tyɉjpuʃ, a path through a thicket near toɪroɪɪr; tyɉjɪxũuɪɪr would have been possible, but this name is borne by another man, as is also tyɉjoɗa (62, Tilloda), which is derived from kaɪtyɉj, the kõaɪm of the gateposts of the pen at the mund piɪɪr.

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§14. The suffix -om is fairly common. The meaning of this suffix is "he who is, or has" (cf. the song passage quoted in appendix to note 7 above); this is clear in the name nasom (a son of tærpax [20, Teipakh]) "he who has beauty, or is beautiful." From such transparent cases the suffix has spread to other less transparent cases, as e.g. kūuɾom of the puɾgoɪɾoʃ (34, Kwodron), who is named after the mund kūuɪɾθyɲj with shortening of the first vowel (cf. panuɪ in §6). The suffix -aɪɾ is fairly common. I know of one name with this suffix based on the name of a rock at a watering-place (which should end in ar "flat rock"), but my informants were unable to remember the name of the rock; the man's name is sinaɪɾ (55, Sinar). Other examples connected with sibs do not occur in my material. siɾjaɪɾ (20, Siriar) <*siɾiɾaŋgam*, the Tamil name ordinarily spelt in English Srirangam. The parents of this man made a vow for children at the temple there. piʃjaɪɾ (52, Piliar) seems to be derived from the common noun piʃj "silver" by this suffix. However, the name has a peculiar origin in that it was given by this man's recently dead grandfather in a dream experienced by his father. A sib origin could not be given for it, or at least was not sought for; it is, however, based on the familiar type and probably has reference to some sib-object, perhaps the kuɾɾoʃj dairy at the mund kuɪɪ̄uɪɾ, which has as kūaɾm piʃjaŋ, which was used unchanged for this man's younger brother (Piliag).

§15. Rivers took -oʃʃ (his -olv) to be an ending of personal names as such, as well as an ending of dairy-names. The Todas, however, do not seem to regard it in this manner. In all the examples, with two exceptions, a personal name with this ending is first a dairy-name. So toɪjoʃʃ in §5, and ðɪkjaʃʃ in §6; the latter is one kūaɾm of an abandoned mund, but in all the cases where a mund has a name of this type as one kūaɾm, this represents a dairy at the mund. The two exceptions are kūuɪɪjaʃʃ (52, Kuriolv) and paɾuŋkɪɪjaʃʃ (7, Pakurŋiolv). The former is made from kūuɪɪuɪɾ, the ground where the sacred buffalo is killed at pirts, the male funeral-place of the sib, but with its ending derived by the informants from puɾnaːɪoʃʃ, the second kūaɾm of the funeral-place, referring to the funeral-hut, which represents a dairy. paɾuŋkɪɪjaʃʃ<paɾuŋkɪɪjnɪɾ, the watering place of the kuɾpoʃj dairy at the mund kaɪɪ, with the ending from toɪjaʃʃ, the name of the kuɾpoʃj dairy. I know of only one dairy-name in poɾõ used as a personal name, viz. tyʃjpoɾõ (12, Tiliya), which is derived from poɾõθyʃjpoɾõ, the kūaɾm of the tuɾeʃj dairy at the mund noɾsminoɪɾ. Usually some change is made, as in taɪpaɾaɾθuɪʈ and taɪɾinuɪɾ in §6 (cf. §9 and §11) and piʃʃ(j)uɪɾuɪɾ in §21.

§16. A few of the names which were explained to me have very irregular formations. puɲaɪɾ (23, Puner)<puɲaɾθõ, the second kūaɾm of Mt.

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55 193 553 paɪrθotj near the mund kaɾkoɾ. edzen (22, Idjen) <ɪɪdzɪo̯j, a valley near the mund paʃtaɪr; this man was afterwards called kɨɨɾɾaɾ, from a rocky ground near the mund tæɪlgɨɨɯɪr, since there was another man called edzen. naty̯j (25, Natuli) <kinxaty̯j, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund paʃtaɪr; kinxaty̯j = "small (kin)-stone (kaɾ)-deep pool (ty̯j)," and naty̯j = "beauty (naɾ)-deep pool (ty̯j)." I could not discover that naty̯j was ever regularly applied to this locality. tæɾθjxæm (see §6) is said to be a combination of tæɾθj and kæm, a brother of tæɾθj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kæmao̯ɾ, cf. kæmgɨɯtn̪ (§9) and kæmodz (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pmlkiɾθj, for which see §12.

55 552 674 §17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or kɨɨɾm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sirjaɪr in §14. Others are 55 796 177 moɪɾonɯɪs, a son of tööθuxn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moɪɾamn, i.e. Mariamma; noɪxoɾoɪdzn, a son of sirjaɪr (table 20), <noɪxɯɪr "Nagore" or noɪxɯɪrxɯrj "the temple at Nagore" with ɾoɪdzn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noɪxoɾ or noɪxoɾoɪl "cobra."

§18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is aɾdʒon̪ "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n by Toda n̪ is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to aɾdʒ. The other name is idjoɪn (a son of tæɪpaɾ, table 20). This is from idɾoɪdzn "king (ɾoɪdzn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in ömgɨɯtn̪ (20, Enkutan); öm, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes kɨɨlöö, who belonged to the sib of the melgɯɪsol̪, had another name mæɪltaɾs, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meilitars).

55 197 §19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. koɪntsaɾs, a son of kæmodz (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kāntarāja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kāntarasu. (aɾs is the Toda representation of Kannaḍa aɾasu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

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also means "Englishman, European in general." It may be that the Tamil uruṣan is also concerned in the origin of the Toda word, but in that case we should expect final -n to remain.). It is to be expected that names of Badagas might be adapted, and perhaps such cases occur, but I have no record of any.

§20. One name that I know of has reference to an incident in the life of a man's father. udjoɪsn (34, Udiosan) was made from udj "a government appointment" and oɪsn "he who became," since when this man was born, his father held an appointment as a forest-ranger.

§21. Many of the examples given above are names of men of the toɪroɪroɪ sib. In order to give a comprehensive view of all the names of one sib, I collect those here with references to the paragraphs where they are treated above and add all those that have not yet been mentioned. A few names given in Rivers' tables of this sib are not remembered by my informants, either because they belonged to children who died before they made any mark in the tribal life, or because the taboos on the names of the dead have caused them to be forgotten. I mark with an asterisk those names that follow the norm of derivation from names of places, objects, etc., connected with the sib.

RIVERS' TABLE 20

*tæɪðj (§12)
*tuɪɪɪɪðj (§12)
*tuɪppiðj (§12)
*nöɪrnuɪs (Narsners) < unöɪrof, the second kōarm of the mund tæɪlgūuɪr (see nertnuɪs, §11)
*muɖbiðj (§12)
*ɛrtaiðj (§12)
*kakuɪr (§7)
*tæɪpuɪ (Teipakh) < tūuɪfæɪpuɪ, a pen at the mund toɪroɪr
sirjuɪr (§§14,17)
*tæɪfxūuɪr (Tavkudr) < Mt. tæɪf near toɪroɪr, "he who has horns as tall as Mt. tæɪf" (cf. §8)
*kiɪðjmurj (§7)
*puɪɲxūuɪr (Pankudr) < puɪɲɖūuɪ, two pens, one at toɪroɪr, one at kɛrkoɪs (cf. §8)
*kðrkiɪjxūuɪtɒ (§9)
*ɛrdʒ, son of kakuɪr, < ɛrdʒaiɪruɪt, a ravine near poʃtaɪr (cf. §7)
idjom (§18)
nasom (§14)
*tuɪpuɪɪɪxūuɪtɒ (§§9, 15)

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ömgŭuṭn (§18, and cf. §9)
notxoroɔidɪn (§17)
*tæðjxæm (§16)
*puɪʧofxŭuṭn (§9)

RIVERS' TABLE 21

petŭuɪðj (§12)
*karorfuɪn (§10)
*oɪrdŭuɪðj (§12)
*puɪkiðj (§12)
*kydziðj (§12)
*kŭuɪṭiðj (§12)
*piɪldjnuɪs (§11)
*kæmodɪ (§13)
*iɪŋxŭuɪr (§8)
*munæɪs (Muners), name of a mountain near the funeral-place tyʃtaŭuɪ (cf. §5)

kŭoɖxuɪrts (Kudrvas), son of kæmodɪ; this was the name of the father or grandfather of petŭuɪðj, a great man of former times. The origin of the name is unknown; a guess was hazarded that the first part (kŭoɖ) represents the Badaga word for an umbrella and has to do with the shape of a tree connected with the sib.

koɪntsaɪz (§19)

RIVERS' TABLE 22

*puɪlkiðj (§12)
*kiɪŋjxæɪr (Kiuniar), a level ground where the game el, tipcat, is played near the mund poʃtaɪr (cf. §5)
*poɪlgar (Polgar), a valley between toroɪr and poʃtaɪr (cf. §5)
*edzen, alias *kŭuɪzas (§16, and cf. §5)
*puɪndŭuɪ (Pundu) <pundŭuɪ, a cooking ground at kurkos (cf. §16)
*kömuuɪf (Keinmuv) <kömmuɪfniɪv, the dairy watering-place at poʃtaɪr (cf. §7)
*poʃtxŭuɪr (Pushtikudr) <nerpoʃt (§§8, 11) with special reference to the poʃt "large flat lichen-covered rock" at the mund
*tuɪkŭuɪs, son of polgar, <tuɪkŭuɪṭeðj, a mountain, formerly a semi-mythical hero who belonged to the sib

RIVERS' TABLE 23

*poɪnuɪs (§§6, 11)
*toɪkas (Tokas), a mountain near kurkos (cf. §5)
*puɪnɪur (§16)

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*tööðuxn (Teitukhe), a mountain near toiroiɾ (cf. §5)
*iɪdzxüɯiɾ (§8)
*koɯndüɯɪ (§5)
*töðüɯɪ, son of oɪkɑs and puɪnɯɪ, <name of the general pen at toiroiɾ (cf. §5)
moʋonɯs (§17, and cf. §11)

RIVERS' TABLE 24

*puʧefuɯn (§10)
*ɯɾkümɪɾfuɯn (§10)
*kidʒxüɯtn̪ (Kidjkɪtan), origin unknown to my informants (cf. §9)
*öɪkjoʎf (§§6, 15)
*töümoɗ (§7)
*oɪxüɯtn̪ (§6)
*toɪliðj (§12)
*nertnɯs (§11)
*mɑgoj (§7)
*piʃtjxümɪɾ (Pushtködr) <piʃtjfoɪd, the second küɑrm of the üɯsoʎj dairy at toiroiɾ (§15, and cf. §8)
*tyʎjodzxüɯiɾ (§13 and cf. §8)
*kæɪnxüɯtn̪ (§9)

RIVERS' TABLE 25

*nɑfyʎj (§16)
*kergæɪrfuɯn (§10)
*küɯɾjnɯs (§11)
*tɯɪfnɯs (§§6, 11, 15)
ɑrdʒon̪ (§18)

§22. This list contains 66 names, plus one alias; 6 of those in Rivers' tables were unknown to my informants. Of the 67 names, 2 are of unknown origin, one (küɑdxɑrts) is doubtfully connected with the sib, 8 are definitely not connected with the sib, and 56 (55 plus one alias) are definitely connected with the sib. Expressed in percentages and counting the one doubtful case with the two of unknown origin, we have approximately 83.6% accounted for as being sib-names, 4.5% of unknown origin (and the presumption is that they are sib-names), 11.9% derived from other sources than the sib. In a similar enquiry into the names of the piɪtoʎ, 59 names (one an alias) were known to my informants. Of these, two could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, 56 were certainly sib-names, and one was doubtful. This last was komdsðm (62, Komjon) "queen-bee." When he was born, his parents were living at kafiðj in the Wynad where honey is

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very plentiful. The informants conjectured that this fact accounts for the name; if so, it too is in a manner a sib-name. Similarly tömn, a son of piljog (52, Piliag), has as name the word for "honey," said to be used because honey is for the Todas surrounded with taboos and in some sense holy. When the names of the kwrrüwṭoj, the sib of this man, were investigated, 100 were sib-names, 3 could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, one was of non-Toda origin, one (tömn) has just been analyzed, and one, piljoɪr, is of peculiar origin, for which see §14. In my investigations I have complete analyses of the names of these three sibs. The latter two are the largest sib of the töüfiljoj moiety and one of the smaller ones. The toɪroɪroj sib, belonging to the toɪrθɑɪoj moiety, is one of the larger sibs of the moiety. Its names show a larger proportion with non-sib and non-Toda origin than either of the other two, and I suspect from the samplings of names that I have made from other sibs that it has probably a higher proportion of such names than any other sib. All the larger toɪrθɑɪoj sibs, however, show a few such names. When it is considered that none of these sibs is as large as the kwrrüwṭoj and that the latter has only two names of non-sib and non-Toda origin out of the 106 analyzed, and that the piṛṭoj have no name of non-Toda origin and only one that was not certainly derived from the sib, we may see here evidence to substantiate further Rivers' statement that the töüfiljoj moiety is more conservative than the other.

WOMEN'S NAMES

§23. Women's personal names are not derived or allowed to be derived from the sib. It is evident, however, in one case that the thought of a sib-association had operated in the formation of a woman's name; this is the first name treated in the following paragraph. It was difficult to get any definite interpretation of women's names from the men; they are quite uninterested in the matter. Their stock answer is that women's names are derived from names of flowers; but in fact, I have in my material no name so derived. Women informants were no more interested in the matter than the men, though they could analyze the names of men of their father's or husband's sibs with almost as much ease as the men. However, many of the women's names are quite transparent, and some principles can be stated. In a number of cases it is clear that words frequently used in songs are at the base of women's names, and it will emerge in the sequel that association with the songs is to be suspected in most of them. In the detailed discussion of the names song-associations will be pointed out whenever they are known to me.

§24. A frequent suffix of unknown meaning, probably merely a formant

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of female-denoting significance, is -ɪɪdz. E.g. ɑrlɪɪdz (3, Arlidz) is derived by this suffix from ɑrl "small pebbles used in playing jackstraws or as counters in reckoning accounts." This woman was born in the sib of the noɪŋoɪʃ; it was at noɪŋ that the goddess tōɪkɪsj performed her acts of creation and divided up the Todas into sibs and assigned buffaloes to the sibs. In the songs when this is referred to, a usual pair of phrases is:

mɑxɑrxoj	potswʊ̄noɪr
first-hand	where (she) placed-sacred place
mɑxɑrɑrl	oɪkjwʊ̄noɪr
first-pebbles	where (she) set out-sacred place

i.e. "(noɪŋ) the sacred place where tōɪkɪsj in the beginning laid on her hand and set out pebbles in making the divisions." It is clear that ɑrl in the woman's name was used because of the association of her father's sib with tōɪkɪsj, and it is probably significant that no other name has been discovered with this element. Another name with this suffix is moɳɪɪdz (7, Manidz); moɳ "soil, owned land" is a member of several pairs in songs—ɪɳefæɳdʒ, moɳefæɳdʒ "quarrels (pæɳdʒ) about women (ɪɳ, a Badaga word) and land;"

ɪɳexʊ̄ɪɾ	koɪʈjʊ̄ɪk
woman-bungalow	you built
moɳexʊ̄ɪr	kɛrtʊ̄ɪk
earth-pool	you dammed

i.e. "though a woman, you built a fine house and dammed with earth a pool to supply water." tɛrmɪɪdz (44, Termidz) <tɛrm "alms" (indirectly from Sanskrit dharma) has in mind the passage in the songs where a woman is praised for her alms-giving. nʊ̄ɪɪʈɪɪdz (3, Notidz) <nʊ̄ɪɪɾ "a sight," has in mind the pair describing funerals and festivals: koɪleoɪɾ, koɳenʊ̄ɪɪɾ "dancing (oɪɾ) with the legs (koɪl), sights for the eyes (koɳ)." poɳɪɪdz, daughter of kʊ̄ɪɪlpɛx (52, Kulpakh) <poɳ "colored cloth" is probably derived from the song-unit otiodjloɳ which refers to a loincloth put on by men when they drive the buffaloes round in the pen at a two-day funeral. sɪɪlɪɪdz (21, Silidz) <sɪɪl "gold." lɑɪbɪɪdz, daughter of tōɪkʊ̄ɪɪr (63, Teikudr), <lɑɪbɛn "profit" (indirectly from Sanskrit lābha). ɾupojɪɪdz (also ɾupoj), daughter of kɛmɑɪɪz (34, Kemaers), <ɾupoj "rupee." ɾɑɪmɪɪdz (38, Ramidz) <Rāma, the divine personage. ɾoɪdʒɪɪdz, daughter of poɪdz (34, Podj), <ɾoɪdʒ "kingdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit rājya). pɪrkɪɪdz (28, Pirkidz) <pɪrkɪɪtʃɛɪ, the Toda form of the English name Breeks, after the Collector in the Nilgiris who did ethnological work on the Todas. sɛɪmɪɪdz (63, Saimidz) <sɛɪɪm "the people" (indirectly from Sanskrit jana); this

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551 193 533 name is possibly made with thought of the song-pair: kuɪrefəɪ, keresonm "a crowd such as has not gathered before, the people in a crowd such as has not assembled before." motʃiɪdz (21, Matchidz) < motʃ "cot," with thought of the song-unit sinəəmotʃ "golden cot," which occurs in descriptions of the possessions of a wealthy man or of his wife. ofulidz (16, Ovalidz; 24, Ovelidz) < ofuɪl "rice puffed over the fire."

551 193 §25. The suffix -əɪ is found in several names; e.g. konəɪ (37, Kosar) < koɪn "coin, rupee" and piljəɪ (21, Piliarh) < pilj "silver." noɪxovemj (10, Nagerami) contains a suffix -emj found in several other names; the first part of the name is to be compared with the first part of noɪxovoɪdzn (§17). In sineg (27, Sinakh) we have sin "gold" and a suffix -eg. In several names there is a suffix -uɪl; e.g. sinuɪl (28, Sinul) < sin "gold."

§26. Many names are compounds. Frequent first members are sin "gold," punn "gold" (used in this sense in songs and proper names only), pilj "silver." E.g. sindəɪm (10, Sindarm) with təɪm "charity" (for the song-association cf. təɪmiɪdz in §24); sindogəɪ (62, Sintagars) with togəɪ "chain," with special reference to a chain as a neck-ornament; sinboqm (63, Sinpanm) with poqm "4-anna piece;" singŭəɪ, daughter of tŏikŭuɪr (63), with kŭəɪ "umbrella," a frequent word in songs; sinbydj, daughter of the same man, with pydj "wisdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit buddhi); sinamal, daughter of tuɪbxŭuɪr (68, Tebkudr), with mal "mountains, esp. the Nilgiris," a frequent word in songs; sindoḍ (38, Sindod), with toḍ "army," a frequent word in songs (indirectly from Sanskrit daṇḍa); siniɪr (56, Sinir), with niɪr "water;" sinuɪr (41, Sinur), with uɪr "town, city;" singupj (14, Sinkupi), with kupj "the cowries or beads dangling in a bunch from a woman's armlet;" sinduɪfj (58, Sinduvi), with tuɪfj "feather;" sinbəŭuɪfj (63, Sinbuthuvi), with pə(ŋ)-tuɪfj "eagle's feather;" sineɪs (8, 40, Sinesr), with eɪs "leaf;" sindəɪɪ (3, 25, 56, Sinderg; 53, Sinterg), with təɪɪ "plate from which food is eaten," and singŏb (43, Singib), with kŏb "small bamboo cup from which milk is poured to drink," probably have reference to feeding visitors in the song-pair: təɪxŭuɪrəʃkj, kŏbŭuɪrʃoɪs "rice in a plate, milk in a cup;" sindəɪrp (68, Sintharap), with təɪrp "key." In a number of names the vowel -ə- is inserted between the two parts of the compound: sinəmut (43, Sinamut), with mut "pearl;" sinəmonj (24, Sinamani), with monj "bell" (see note 10); sinəbuɪf (8, Sinabuv), with puɪf "flower;" sinəfij (1, Sinavili), with pilj "silver." Names with punn "gold" are: punduɪfj (68, Punduvi), with tuɪfj "feather;" punəbəŭuɪfj (8, Punbuthuvi), with pəŋuɪfj "eagle's feather;" punəuɪr (66, Punur), with uɪr "town, city;" pundəɪɪ (26, Pindergh), with təɪɪ, cf. sindəɪɪ above. punəbuɪf (10, Punabuv), with puɪf "flower," contains the inserted vowel -ə-. pundŭu-

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ţeuj (10, Punduteimi), with tāuţ "handle of a bamboo vessel" (frequently found in songs), has also the suffix -emj mentioned in §25. piĵ "silver" is found in piĵmoʃt (54, Pilimaaht), with moʃt "ax;"[10] piĵniv (55, Pilinir), with niv "water;" piĵmut (35, Pilimut), with mut "pearl." 551 193

§27. As first member of a compound is found nas- "beauty;" nastuŝj (49, Narstuŝi), with tuŝj "feather;" naspiĵ (35, 52, Naspilthi), with piĵ "silver." It is found in the form nal- with insertion of -a- in nalabuŝ, daughter of panas (23, Panera), with puŝ "flower." puŝ "flower" is found as first member of a compound in puŝiĵ (20, Puveli), with piĵ "silver;" with inserted -e- in puŝemut, daughter of sirjair (20), with mut "pearl;" with suffix -idz and piĵ "silver" in puŝidzŝiĵ (65, Puvizveli).

§28. Other compounds are found with more sporadic members. konnaulj, daughter of ontjars and udjonn (34, Atiurs and Udiotan), from kon "rupee" and maulj "garland;" konaŝiĵ (11, Konaveli), from kon "rupee" and piĵ "silver" with inserted -a-; cf. konar §25. nirŝiĵ (63, Nirveli) from niv "water" and piĵ "silver." avaniv (16, Arsner), from av "European" and niv "water." mutnirŝiĵ (51, Mutnirveli), from mut "pearl," niv "water" and piĵ "silver," is rather exceptional in having three members. pumas (23, Pumers), from pum "fruit" and es "leaf;" cf. ines §26. Several contain English words: soapniv (6, Sapnir), from soap "shop" and niv "water;" pofuarmut, daughter of ontjars and udjonn (34), from pofuar "power," referring to the electric power line across the hills, and mut "pearl." Three refer to Miss C. F. Ling who was formerly a missionary among the Todas.[11] ligmisj (23, Lingimishi) represents Ling Missy (i.e. Miss Ling), which is the ordinary way in which a South Indian would refer to this lady; ligjabuŝ, daughter of dungoir (48, Ushadr), has puŝ "flower" with an inserted -e- and an unwarranted j; misjamut, daughter of kāmanas (34, Kemnāra), is misj "missy" and mut "pearl" with an inserted -a-. 551 193

§29. Uncompounded words without any suffix are found as names: tuguŝ, daughter of kāmarjaŝ (52, Kurialv), "moon;" sandar (62, Sever) "1000;" yamiţŝ (12, Iramitch) "lime (the fruit)," cf. the appendix to note 7; munat (56, Munat), "affection." poţoam (34, Paton) is the word found in Sanskrit as paţţana "city" and is the usual Toda word for Madras city. kapal (41, Kapal) seems to denote the compound of a bungalow and refers especially in the songs with its pair kotaarj to the law-courts in Ootacamund. A few English words have been taken as names changed only to such 551 193

[10] kāţţ "ax" and maraj "half" (cf. shamaraj §30) form a compound, denoting two of the objects found in dairies.

[11] See *The Songs of the Todas*, footnote 2 and p. 554.

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an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pərθj, daughter of ōiknuʂ (8, Arkners), <"baby;" pentʃ, daughter of kɔrɪtɯṭŋ (42, Kadrkutan), <"bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tɛɪnə; a woman's name tɛɪn is derived by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kajniʂ, 3, Kainir).

§30. The Sanskrit dɛ̄vī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tiʃ (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amandiʃ, daughter of kɯ̄lpax (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

§31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and kɯ̄nam "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. ōngɯṭŋ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

§32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered.[*] Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

[*] It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the kɯ̄nam "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

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when I recorded such names. The tendency appears to use words that have song-associations, and one may refer especially to the large class of names with puun "gold," a word used in this sense in songs and not so used in ordinary speech. It may be that this tendency is even more powerful than appears to the non-Toda observer, since it is extremely difficult for him to know what connotations a word may or may not have and informants are inarticulate on this matter. It may be, again, that the feeling that an outsider receives, that Toda women's names are generally rather poetical in the Western sense, i.e. in their reference to objects with aesthetic associations, is not entirely in accordance with Toda feelings. I can only adduce a small bit of evidence which I have already used in *The Songs of the Todas*.[9] In composing a song lamenting the death of the late King George V, the composer changed kipaorɔ̈ŋ, the Toda form of the king's name, into sipaorɔ̈ŋ. He gave as the reason for this change that the former is not "poetical" and the latter is; my interpreter explained that kip- suggests the word for "small" while sip- suggests the word for "gold," i.e. sin. This being so, we may conclude that women's names with the element sin "gold" are poetical to the Todas, i.e. they suggest to them the vocabulary of song. We have already seen that those with puun "gold" are poetical in the same sense, and I think that it is possible to conclude that women's names in general have for the Todas much the same connotations that they have for us. They are connected with the expressions of song and derive their connotations from the songs, and so may be justly said to be poetical.

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NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

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797 533 ceeful. Miss Ling had expressed the hope that the converts might some day break into Christian song in their own tongue and especially that a Benedicite might be composed. It is obviously too much to hope for that there should be a completely new style of song evolved; all that one could reasonably expect would be either that on the basis of Tamilian music or, less likely, European music songs would be composed with Toda words, or that with practice the conventions of Toda singing could be extended to cover the Christian spirit and subject-matter. With a view to helping on the latter evolution (perhaps ethnologically unethical, but certainly justified if it would contribute to filling an evident gap in the life of the Christian Todas, and also interesting as an experiment to see how far the technique could be made by a clever composer to cover a previously untreated subject), I suggested to [kasfuseod], my interpreter and a man versed in the song-technique, that he should attempt a Benedicite. He without further prompting attempted composition in both the modes suggested above. His fairly literal translation, based on his Tamil Prayer-book and to be sung to the tune used in church, was hardly a success. But since he had sharpened his wits by this effort, there was a much more satisfactory result. At the end of a night when he had been sitting in his potato-field to prevent raids on his crops by wild pig and deer, as dawn broke he burst forth in a song. This he later dictated to me and it proved to be a remarkable blending of the Christian subject-matter and the imagery suggested by the Toda poetical technique. The song, when read in translation to westerners whose judgment in such matters I value highly, has been adjudged a highly poetical lyric. Certainly for poetic value it far surpasses most of the 300 Toda songs that I have recorded. Whether efforts on such a high level can be produced in greater number remains for some future investigator to discover.

551 797 [214] [533] I have shown elsewhere [1] that the personal names of Toda males are in almost all cases derived from the religion of the dairy-complex and more specifically from the compleres of the patrilineal sib in the case of each man, while the names of Toda females are more miscellaneous but in many cases show an origin in the song-language. In all cases the Toda Christians who were proselytised from the tribe have retained their Toda names, usually as baptismal names, in spite of the definitely religious connotations in the case of male names. In addition they have all received Christian names, either English or Sanskritic-Tamil. When 553 797 we come to the children born to the Christian community the case is different. There the Christian names are in the foreground of interest and are the only ones given at baptism. In most cases it seems that no [113]

[1] *Personal Names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, N.S., 40, 330–335.

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This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalization of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unpredictable. The adult members of the

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(11) PERSHÑÑSHWUTH, abbreviated to PERSHÑÑSH: The eldest boy of the family, and very conscious of it. He is quiet, self-confident and has a reputation of being "good with buffaloes", of which he is noticeably proud. He likes to go out to other munds, and to take the Melgarsh animals to graze in distant places, so that he is not very often at the *mud*. He always walks about with a stick, the symbol of his activities as a herdsman. 159 621 283

(12) NARJILKHWUTH, abbreviated to NARJILKH: Always busy about the house, where I usually found him cutting wood; he also looks after the calves, it being his special job to take them out in the morning and put them back in the pens in the evening. He is quiet and thoughtful and apparently specially friendly with Munbokwutn, his youngest father.

(13) Pengalam: A sweet little girl, with whom I was especially friendly. She is gay and playful, and is nearby always in the company of Narjilkh. She loves to muse to herself, to play imitating games, to sing and tell stories to the twins. She also likes to show off to people like myself, laughing and giggling when she plays at nursing her younger brother like a mother. She adores going for drives with me in the car, and cried her eyes out when I left the Nilgiris. 159 621 [123]

(14) SOOUP: An extraordinary little boy for his age. He is exceptionally bright and intelligent and can speak fluently his own language. He is the spoilt darling of the whole family, often performing to a whole circle of grown-ups, who go into fits of laughter over the things he says. He is quite aggressive too, threatening his mother with disembowelment, and assuring everyone that he can manage the calves just as well as Narjilkh. He obviously derives much pleasure from taking advantage of the privileges Toda men enjoy, strutting with great satisfaction beyond the stone which marks the limit of where women may go in the direction of the dairy-temple, and where his twin sister must stop. [155]

(15) Sodam: She is as dull and backward as Soolup, her twin brother, is bright. I was unable to make out if this was congenital or due to different upbringing and the lower status of women among the Todas. She is very shy indeed and would hardly ever let me get close to her without starting to cry. She can hardly speak, and only very rarely opens her mouth, usually just sitting by her mother and staring with great round eyes at what goes on around her, and looking quickly away if any notice is taken of her.

(16) PÉYENGSH: Called after me (*Raya* being Toda for Raja = Prince) who am his godfather, having taken that role at his name-giving ceremony. He is only a baby in arms, born two weeks after I arrived [123] [551]